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5 August 1973

INTELLIGENCE REPORT

SUBJECT: Iraq--A Political Study

This paper deals in brief with the Iraqi political system--its background, structure, and conflicts. It reviews some of the predominant political forces in the country and some of the recent political changes that have been set in motion.

Background--Modern Iraq is a case study of military involvement in the political life of a country. The Iraq Army had the dubious honor of introducing the military coup to the modern Arab political scene in 1936. In the decade and a half since the coup in 1958 that toppled the monarchy and established a de jure republic but a de facto dictatorship, Iraq has experienced four distinct changes in regime, ten coups d'etat or attempted coups, and at least 14 cabinets with an average longevity of less than a year. In virtually every instance, the military was involved to some extent, and was often the prime mover.

The military revolution in 1958 altered the entire complexion of Iraqi politics and government. It virtually eliminated the upper class "old guard" and placed the government in the hands of more radical officers drawn primarily from the lower middle class and lacking political training and experience. The ensuing uncertainty and lack of direction has resulted in an increasing concentration of political power in the hands of a few men.

The current regime, which seized power in 1968, is an alliance of moderate officers and the socialist Baath Party. It has substituted one-party government for one-man rule, but like its predecessors, is inherently unstable. If it differs in any appreciable way it is in the tenacity with which it clings to power--confounding the many political observers who expected it to tear itself apart long ago. The recent coup attempt has tended to unify competing forces

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within the regime, temporarily at least, and has accelerated the trend toward a further consolidation of power.

The Dynamics of the Regime

Iraq is nominally a constitutional republic, but in fact power is concentrated in the office of the president, the 15-member Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), and the leadership of the Baath Party--the only legitimate political party in Iraq. There are no popular elections per se, although there are intra-party elections. In the aftermath of the recent coup attempt, the RCC seems to be moving toward the establishment of a National Council which will have at least symbolic legislative functions. It will be appointed by the RCC, however, and presumably will be responsive to the present leadership. (See annex for discussion of the structure of government.)

The principal actors in Iraqi politics include:

-- the military, and particularly the 90,000-man army, which is the mainstay of any Iraqi regime. The army is the self-appointed "custodian of the national interest" and as such can impose its will on any government. In the current scene, however, the army has been content to remain aloof from the political turmoil in the wake of the abortive coup attempt. The army per se apparently was not involved, although individual soldiers may have been along with the internal security forces. The army's interests are represented in both the RCC and the Regional Command of the Baath Party.

-- The ruling Baath Party, a secular political institution with an involved, if somewhat vague, left-wing socio-political philosophy. Its credo appeals to the educated middle class elite more than to the less sophisticated peasants and workers. Like the Communist Party, it has a tradition of clandestine activity and maintains a highly compartmentalized structure composed of cells, sections, and branches. The entire structure (defined in party terms as a "region" of the Arab "nation") is directed by a 7-man Regional Command. Baath members tend to combine informally into "civilian" and "military" wings; rivalries between the two are a source of friction.

-- Other political parties. Although they are technically proscribed, the government apparently sanctions the numerically small but influential Communist Party and the Kurdish Democratic Party as long as they cooperate with the regime and maintain a low profile.

-- The Kurds, who make up about 30 percent of the Iraqi population. They are concentrated in the northern mountains and are in a chronic state of revolt. They are part of the some 5-6 million Kurds located in contiguous areas of Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Turkey. Their ultimate goal is an independent Kurdish state, but the Iraqi Kurds will settle, for the moment at least, for autonomy within a unified Iraqi state as long as they also share in the central government. The Bakr regime by an agreement signed in March 1970, promised autonomy to the Kurds by March 1974. Recently the government has begun to hedge on this commitment. Persistent rumors of sharp clashes between the Kurds and government forces remain unconfirmed, but the Kurds reportedly expect further serious fighting. The Kurds have token representation in the national government, and the Kurdish Democratic Party headed by Barzani has been invited by both the Baathist and the Communists to join in a national front government. Barzani, highly suspicious of the motives of both groups, remains aloof in his mountain fastness.

The two most influential leaders are President Bakr and Saddam Husayn Tikriti, Vice Chairman of the RCC and Deputy Chairman of the Regional Command of the Baath Party. In addition to his role as chief of state, Bakr serves as his own prime minister and assumed the defense portfolio following the death of General Shihab during the June 30 coup attempt. Although there is no stipulated presidential term, he presumably may be removed by action of the RCC. Tikriti has been described by some political observers as the "strong man" of the regime. Certainly he played a key role in putting down the recent coup attempt, although some suspect he may also have had a hand in planning it. Tikriti has played a more prominent public role in recent weeks through public appearances, announcements, and press conferences and has engaged in important meetings with foreign representatives. Bakr and Tikriti are potential rivals,

but for the present at least, they appear to be working together to consolidate their power and to unify the country. They are also probably purging suspected disloyal elements from the Baath Party, the government, and the security forces.

Point of conflict--Personalities, social philosophies, and ethnic differences, rather than political, social, or economic issues per se, underlie the various political groupings and power blocs in Iraq.

Within the Baath Party government itself, there appear to be no basic policy differences, but there are varying degrees of emphasis among individuals and groups jockeying for position. President Bakr, as a former army general, is often identified with the so-called "military wing" of the party and Saddam Husayn Tikriti, the Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council is generally viewed as the head of the party's "civilian wing." But here also the differences are largely personalities rather than issues. The recent coup attempt brought yet another apparent faction--or perhaps subfaction of the civilian wing--into the open. Again it was largely a case of personalities rather than basic issues, although the individuals behind the coup attempt apparently favored greater Iraqi participation in the Arab-Israeli conflict and a more aggressive program against the Kurds.

The general climate among intellectuals, traditional politicians, and the general public seems to be one of discontent with the regime, but as long as the Baath maintains the loyalty and control of the military, any increase in unpopularity is not likely to affect its tenure.

The recent Baath decision to join with the Communist Party in a "national front"--a development which the bulk of the Communists have long sought--again points to the lack of major contentious issues between the two groups. As long as the Baath Party remains pro-USSR and continues to wage an "anti-imperialist" campaign, the Communists probably will lend open support. The Communist line on US strategy in the Middle East is identical with the views of the Baath. The Communist Party of Iraq probably will

press the regime to improve domestic living conditions, to increase economic and cultural cooperation with the socialist bloc, to take decisive measures against domestic reactionary elements, to call for a more vigorous policy in fighting "imperialism, zionism, and reaction" and to solve the Kurdish issue on the basis of autonomy, but differences with the government on these issues is one of degree rather than principle.

The Communist Party itself is divided on the extent to which it should cooperate with the Baath Government, and the regime's record of arrests and suppression suggests that some Communist concern is justified. There are currently three ostensible Communist representatives in the 29-member cabinet; one of these at least has been disavowed by the party, however, and only one of the three holds a portfolio. This number probably will increase if and when a national front government is established.

The Kurds, with about 20 percent of the population, are a significant power bloc with military strength to back up their demands. Although there are currently five nominal Kurds on the cabinet, only four of them are in any way affiliated with the Kurdish movement--the other is a member of the Communist Party--and none has been given an important ministerial post.

The Kurds have very specific differences with the Baath Party and the government, but the points at issue are parochial rather than national in scope. Kurdish demands include:

- Autonomy for the area under Kurdish jurisdiction with a regional president, council, and legislature. Authority to pass regional laws, assess taxes, and approve regional economic plans.
- Kurdish representation in the national assembly or council proportionate to the size of the Kurdish population;
- A proportionate share of the national budget and development expenditures.

The Kurds, who remain on the defensive both militarily and politically, have thus far rejected all invitations to join a national front government with the Baath and Communist Parties.

The Kurds themselves are not without dissension. Although Mulla Mustafa Barzani is the acknowledged leader of the bulk of the Kurdi minority, several thousand broke away from the parent body several years ago and have aligned themselves with the Baath government. Factionalism, however, is not a serious concern of the Kurdish Democratic Party.

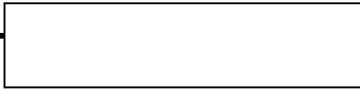
Other political forces to be reckoned with include inter-communal, intertribal and class friction resulting from the predominant role being played by the Sunni Muslim minority in a country with a distinct Shiite Muslim majority.

Prospects

The current regime under the leadership of Bakr and Tikriti has made little progress in solving Iraq's basic national problems and remains insecure. Nevertheless, it has weathered the recent coup attempt and is working to undergird its power position. It is going through the motions of restructuring party and government institutions, although this is likely to be merely a change in facade, leaving the government no more responsible or responsive than before. Tikriti has indicated that he intends to democratize the government, but bona fide elections appear to be out of the question in the foreseeable future. Meanwhile, questionable elements are reportedly being purged from positions of influence.

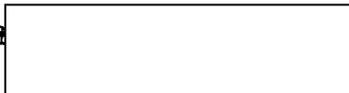
The main potential threat to the regime is from as yet unidentified opponents within its own ranks, or from the military. The track record of the Bakr regime suggests that no significant shift in the power balance is to be expected as long as Bakr and Tikriti--and as long as the party's military and civilian wings--continue to cooperate reasonably well. These alliances could come unstuck under the pressure of outside circumstances however. Major new trouble with the Kurds, for example, could shake the regime.

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An irreconcilable split in party ranks could prompt the army to step in once again. Give the lack of popular support for the regime and its vulnerability to coup attempts, key army officers such as the commanders of the Baghdad Garrison and the Republican Guards Brigade assume a particular importance far beyond their ranks. As in the past, a military coup probably would only perpetuate the existing system albeit under stronger military influence.

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ANNEX

Structure of the Iraqi Government

Iraq is nominally a constitutional republic with de facto power concentrated in the office of the president, the Revolutionary Command Council, and the leadership of the Baath Party. The 15-member Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) is defined by the Provisional Constitution as "the highest authority in the state" and is described as "the revolutionary organ which led the masses of the people and the armed forces on the morning of 17 July 1968." The members of the RCC are also members of the top policy body of the Baath Party--the Regional Command--and all apparently played a significant role in the 17 July coup.

The Revolutionary Command Council has the constitutional authority to:

- appoint or dismiss members of the RCC as long as the total number does not exceed 15;
- elect the President of the Republic who also becomes the chairman of the RCC;
- Control the armed forces and the internal security forces;
- appoint members of the cabinet and to relieve them;
- supervise the affairs of the republic;
- issue edicts which have the force of law;
- ratify laws and treaties.

The RCC also acts as the legislative body pending the formation of the National Council which now appears to be in the works. The 100-member council will be chosen by the RCC, presumably within the next few months, and will represent various political, economic, and social elements in the country. The National Council will be the first Iraqi

"parliament" in 15 years, and it is certain, despite the declared intention to form a national front, that the ruling Baath Party will occupy the majority of Council seats. There are no popular elections per se in Iraq, although there are intra-party elections. The announced primary mission of the Council when formed will be to draft a permanent constitution.

The President of Iraq is chosen by the members of the RCC and has the following powers and functions:

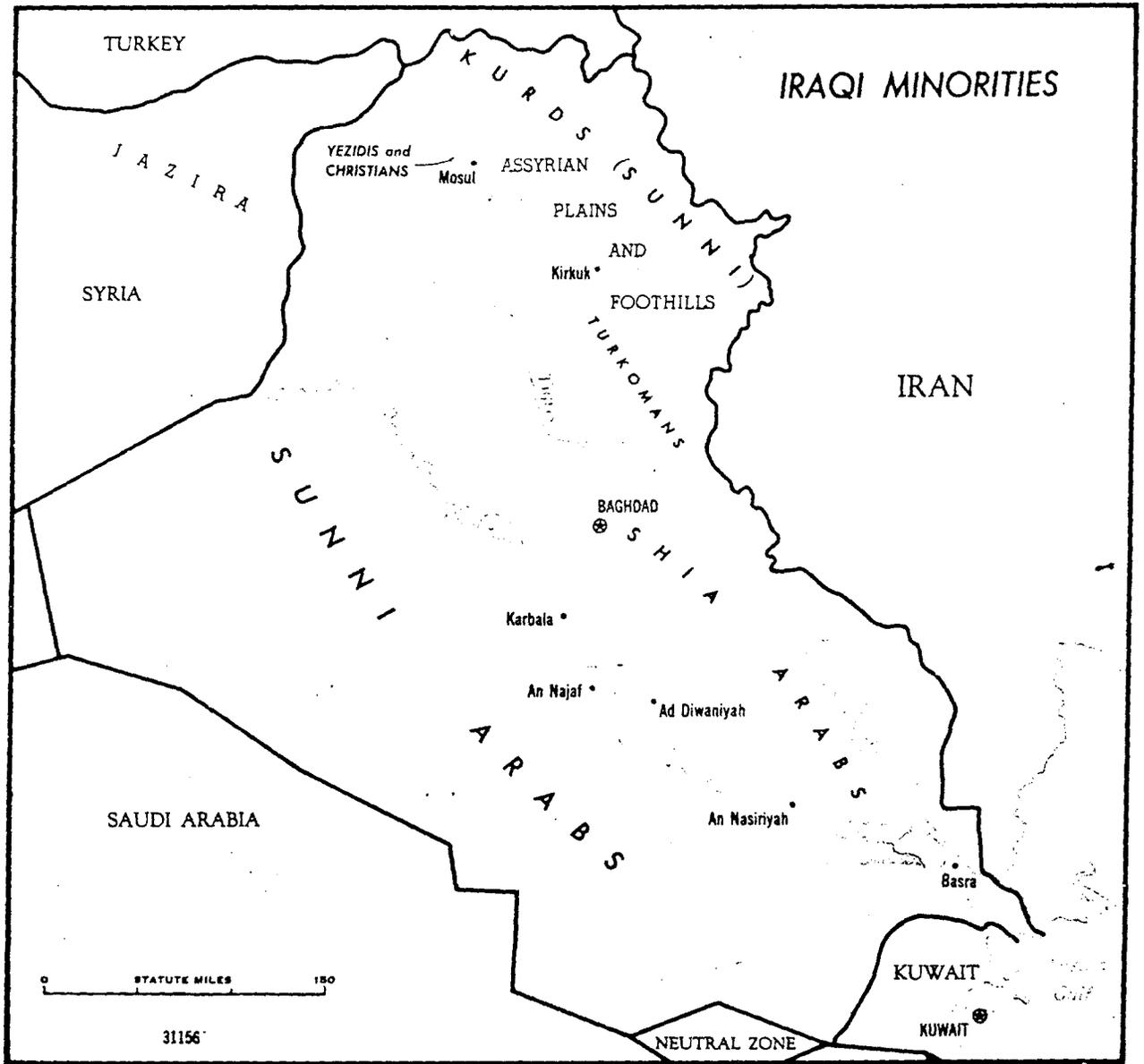
- to safeguard the "independence and integrity of the country;"
- to safeguard internal and external security;
- to supervise "the sound implementation of the Constitution, laws and decision;"
- to appoint and dismiss vice-presidents, ministers, governors, judges, civil servants, and military officials.

He has a limited veto over the decisions of the RCC.

The 29-member cabinet, named by the President and the RCC and serving at their pleasure, drafts laws and submits them to the RCC for approval (to the National Council when formed), issues administrative regulations and decisions, draws up the state's General Plan, and prepares the general budget. Individually, the cabinet members preside over the operations of the ministries they head.

The structure of government below the cabinet level is as highly centralized as it was under the monarchy with the result that initiative at the lower levels is discouraged and the ministers and governors are overburdened with routine decisions and administrative detail.

Iraq is divided into 16 provinces of unequal size which are further subdivided into districts and subdistricts. The provincial governors are chosen by and responsible to the Minister of Interior and the chief district and subdistrict officers are chosen by and generally responsible to the governors.



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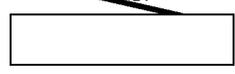
LAND:
 172,000 sq. mi.; 18% cultivated, 68% desert, waste, or urban, 10% seasonal and other grazing land, 4% forest and woodland
 Land boundaries: 2,280 mi.

WATER:
 Limits of territorial waters (claimed): 12 n. mi.
 Coastline: 36 mi.

PEOPLE:
 Population: 10,142,000, average annual growth rate 3.3% (October 70-71)
 Ethnic divisions: 70.9% Arabs, 18.3% Kurds, 0.7% Assyrians, 2.4% Turkomans, 7.7% other
 Religion: 90% Muslim, 8% Christian, 2% other
 Language: Arabic, Kurdish minority speaks Kurdish
 Literacy: 20% to 40%
 Labor force: 2.4 million; 70% agriculture, 6.5% industry, 6.7% government, 16.8% other; rural underemployment high, but not serious because low subsistence levels make it easy to care for unemployed; severe shortage of technically trained personnel
 Organized labor: 11% of labor force

GOVERNMENT:
 Legal name: Republic of Iraq
 Type: republic; one-party military regime established in July 1968
 Capital: Baghdad
 Political subdivisions: 16 provinces under centrally appointed officials
 Legal system: based on Islamic law in special religious courts, civil law system elsewhere; provisional constitution adopted in 1968; judicial review was suspended; legal education at University of Baghdad; has not accepted compulsory ICJ jurisdiction
 Branches: "moderate" wing of Ba'th Party of Iraq has been in power since 1968 coup
 Government leaders: President Hasan al-Bakr; Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council Saddam Tikriti
 Suffrage: no elective bodies exist
 Elections: none since overthrow of monarchy in 1958
 Communists: Communist Party allowed token representation in cabinet
 Political or pressure groups: political parties banned, major opposition to regime is from leftwing of the Ba'th Party, Communist Party and Nasirist groups, disaffected members of the regime and army officers
 Member of: Arab League, FAO, IAEA, IBRD, ICAO, IDA, IFC, ILO, IMF, ITU, OPEC, U.N., UNESCO, UPU, WHO, WMO

ECONOMY:
 GNP: \$2,693 million in 1969, \$300 per capita
 Agriculture: dates, wheat, barley, rice, livestock; largely self-sufficient in food
 Major industry: crude petroleum (fourth largest producer in Middle East)
 Electric power: 824,000 kw. capacity (1971); 3.5 billion kw.-hr. produced (1971), 350 kw.-hr. per capita
 Exports: \$71 million (f.o.b., 1971), not including oil revenue of \$840 million
 Imports: \$756 million (c.i.f., 1971); 26% from Communist countries (1969)
 Major trade partners: exports (non oil) -- U.S. 7%, Western European countries 4%, Communist countries 15%, Arab countries 54%, other 20%; imports -- U.S. 4%, Western European countries 44%, Japan 3%, Communist countries 26%, Arab countries 7%, other 16%



ONOMY (cont'd):

Aid:

economic -- from 1959-December 1971 Communist countries extended \$832 million in credits and grants (\$201.4 million drawn as of December 1971); total U.S. economic aid during FY46-70 was \$55.2 million; assistance from international organizations during FY49-70 was \$53.7 million; military -- U.S. military aid, given only during FY53-61 and FY65-67 totaled \$46.7 million (insignificant amount in FY68); Communist countries, \$1,079 million (November 1958-December 1971) (S)

Monetary conversion rate: 1 Iraqi dinar=US\$3.04 (freely convertible); 0.329 Iraqi dinar=US\$1

Fiscal year: 1 April - 31 March

COMMUNICATIONS:

Railroads: 1,408 mi.; 698 mi. 4'8 1/2" gage, 710 mi. meter (3'3 3/8") gage; 10 mi. meter gage double track

Highways: 12,900 mi.; 4,000 mi. paved; 2,900 mi. crushed stone, gravel, or improved earth; 6,000 mi. earth and sand tracks

Inland waterways: 635 mi.; Shatt al Arab navigable by maritime traffic for about 65 mi.; Tigris and Euphrates navigable by shallow-draft steamers

Ports: 3 major

Pipelines: crude oil, 1,660 mi.; 30 mi. refined products; 430 mi. natural gas

Merchant marine: 8 ships (1,000 GRT or over) totaling 89,000 GRT, 132,900 DWT includes 6 cargo, 2 tanker

Civil air: 6 major transport aircraft

Airfields: 168 total, 70 usable; 20 with permanent-surface runways; 40 with runways 8,000-11,999 ft., 14 with runways 4,000-7,999 ft.

Telecommunications: fair international radiocommunication service; poor domestic telephone and telegraph service; 120,000 telephones; 1,100,000 radio receivers; 200,000 TV receivers; 4 TV and 4 AM stations

DEFENSE FORCES:

Military manpower: males 15-49, 2,310,000; 1,250,000 fit for military service; about 121,000 reach military age (18) annually

Personnel: army 90,000, navy 2,000, air force 10,000 (420 pilots), mobile police force 4,800

Major ground units: 4 infantry divisions, 2 armored divisions, 1 republican guards brigade, 3 infantry training brigades, 1 special forces brigade

Ships: 2 large guided missile boats, 12 motor torpedo boats, 4 river gunboats, 7 service craft, 2 minesweepers, 3 small submarine chasers

Aircraft: 499 (375 jet, 18 turboprop, 35 prop, 71 helicopters)

Supply: produces some ammunition; dependent mainly on U.S.S.R. and East European Communist countries, particularly Czechoslovakia; some equipment from Western Europe including COBRA anti-tank missiles for West Germany

Military budget: for fiscal year ending 31 March 1972, \$314 million; 11.5% of total budget

